CHAPTER 10

Foreign Policy and Internationalism

Figure 10-1 The first Canadian Peacekeeping Service Medals were awarded in Calgary. The city's mayor, Al Duerr, presented the medals to members of the Calgary Highlanders during the annual Freedom of the City parade on April 21, 2001.

CHAPTER ISSUE

Should foreign policy promote internationalism?

CANADA CREATED THE Canadian Peacekeeping Service Medal in 2000. The medal shows three peacekeepers — two men and a woman — keeping watch. It also shows a dove, a traditional symbol of peace.

The three figures shown on the medal are the same as those that appear on the peacekeeping monument in Ottawa. The monument is called *Reconciliation*. This name captures the central purpose of peacekeeping: to keep the peace long enough for reconciliation to take place. *Reconciliation* honours all Canadians who have served in peacekeeping missions. The monument is unique — it is the only peacekeeping monument in the world.

Examine the photographs on the previous page. Then respond to the following questions:

- What do the peacekeeping medal and monument say to you about how Canada sees its role in the world?
- What evidence of the media do you see in the main photograph? What do the public ceremony and media presence say to you about Alberta? About Canada?
- Do you think Canada honours peacekeeping as a way of promoting nationalism or internationalism — or both?
- How would you react if Canada stopped playing a role in peacekeeping?

KEY TERMS

gross national income

tied aid

LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will explore the extent to which foreign policy should promote internationalism. You will do this by developing responses to the following questions:

- How do countries set foreign policy?
- How can nation-states promote internationalism through foreign policy?
- How does Canadian foreign policy promote both national interest and internationalism?

My Journal on Nationalism

Look again at the collage on the previous page. How do these photographs express nationalism? How do they express internationalism? Can they express both at the same time? Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file so that you can refer to them as you progress through this course.

How do countries set foreign policy?

In your community — as in any community — people elect leaders, set goals, and make and obey laws. They find ways to settle disputes and live together in peace. Some people interact easily with the community, but others prefer to be more isolated.

Nation-states make similar decisions about how they will live in the world with other countries. They may decide to enter into bilateral or multilateral agreements and treaties, to work out ways to settle disputes with other nation-states, and to work together to solve mutual problems. Decisions about how to deal with other countries are part of a country's foreign policy.

<<< CheckBack

You read about bilateralism and multilateralism in Chapter 9.

Foreign policy is developed by politicians, diplomats, and experts in foreign relations. But these decisions affect people's everyday lives. Here are some examples:

- Much of the food you eat comes from outside Canada.
- Many of your clothes, shoes, and other possessions are made outside Canada.
- Much of the television you watch and the music you enjoy are not Canadian-made.
- Your family's income may depend on a parent or guardian who works for a company that is not Canadian-owned.
- If you travel outside Canada, the rules you must follow to enter another country are the result of foreign policy decisions.

Influences on Foreign Policy Decisions

Setting foreign policy is relatively easy in countries ruled by a dictator, an absolute monarch, or a military junta — a committee of military leaders. This is because leaders like these can make decisions without consulting the people of their country. The leaders' view of the national interest is the only one that matters.

<<< CheckBack

You read about foreign policy and national interest in Chapter 5.

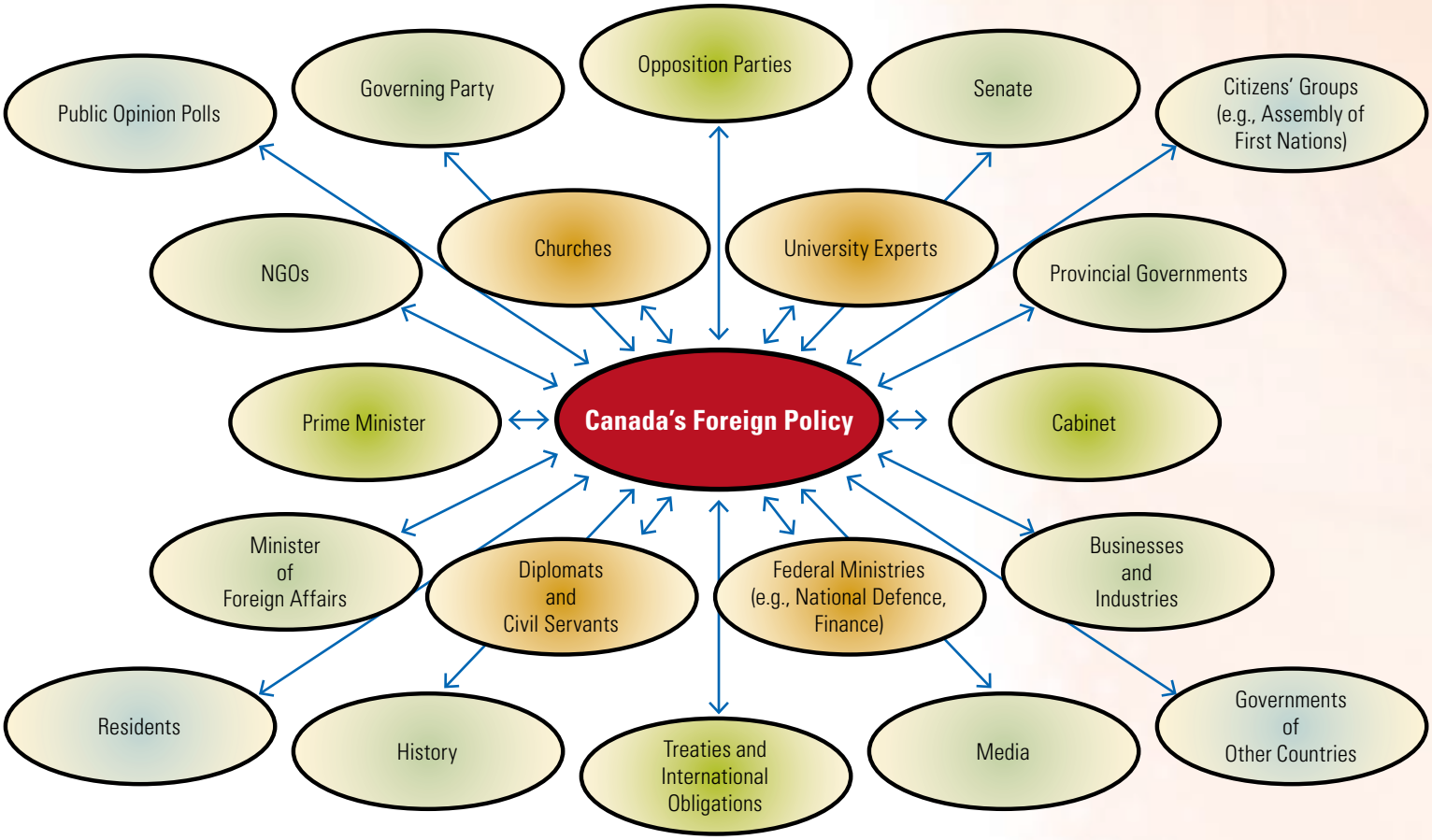
But in democracies, setting foreign policy is more complicated. Democratic leaders must ensure that their decisions reflect the beliefs, values, and goals of the country's citizens. Individuals, collectives, and groups in the country can influence foreign policy decisions.

Do ordinary voters have enough information to make judgments about foreign policy decisions?

Figure 10-3 on the following page shows some of the influences on Canada's foreign policy. Which groups do you think have the most influence?

Figure 10-2 In August 2007, Canadian hockey star Sidney Crosby talked to the media about his fall collection of clothing. At the time, this gear was available only in Canada. Many American hockey fans wanted to know when they would be able buy the clothes. This will depend on factors such as trade agreements, trade disputes, and border procedures — all factors related to foreign policy.

Figure 10-3 Some Influences on Canada's Foreign Policy



Foreign Policy in Democracies

In democracies, citizens influence foreign policy by exercising their right to speak freely and to vote. Governments often pay more attention when citizens join together to express their opinions. So people sign petitions, take part in letter-writing campaigns, and join organizations of people with similar concerns. Canadians might, for example, join the Council of Canadians. This group often speaks out on foreign policy issues that affect Canadians. Or Canadians might join Amnesty International, which focuses on human rights.

Web Connection

To find out more about the position taken by the Council of Canadians on various foreign policy issues, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Foreign Policy Goals

Goals are something to aim for. With a clear goal in mind, people can develop a more effective action plan. Think about your own goals and how you plan to achieve them. Clear goals enable you to develop a blueprint for your future. Without goals, designing this blueprint is harder.

In the same way, clear foreign policy goals help guide the actions of governments. One job of the Canadian government is to decide on foreign policy goals that reflect the values of Canadians, develop a plan to achieve those goals, and then act.

Should multinational corporations have any say in a country's foreign policy?

Foreign Policy in a Globalizing World

Until the end of World War II, governments and diplomats were the main players in international affairs. Except in the case of war, their decisions rarely affected ordinary people. But since then, the increasing pace of globalization has changed international politics. The role of nation-states has been reduced — and multinational corporations, as well as international business, labour, and humanitarian organizations, have become more important.

Wilfried von Bredow is a foreign policy specialist who identified one result of this trend. In an online publication titled *Canada's Place in World Affairs*, von Bredow wrote: "One of the many consequences of [the globalization] process is the decline of the state's importance as an actor, both within the country and in the international arena. Not all states are equally concerned with the effects of globalization, but all are touched by it in some way."

At one time, Canada's foreign affairs and international trade were handled by two separate federal government departments. Each had its own Cabinet minister. But in 1982, the two departments were combined into one: Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. How did this decision reflect changes in the world? How might joining these two departments affect Canada's approach to international trade and foreign policy?

Figure 10-4 A Beijing pedestrian walks past a billboard for Wal-Mart. By December 2007, Wal-Mart, an American multinational corporation, had set up 100 stores in Beijing alone. After China allowed international retailers to operate in the country, the government lost some of its power to support Chinese retailers. Many countries have traded off some domestic control for access to foreign markets.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. List three things you know about how foreign policy decisions are made in Canada.
2. Create a T-chart like the one shown and use it to compare how foreign policy decisions are made in Canada and in a dictatorship. For Canada, include the three points you listed in Question 1. For the next point, compare who decides on the national interest in each situation. Finally, compare who contributes to foreign policy decisions in each situation.

How Foreign Policy Decisions Are Made A Comparison	
Canada	A Dictatorship

3. Write a brief job description for Canada's minister of foreign affairs and international trade. In your description, include the phrases "national interest," "listen and consult," "responsibility," and "balance."

How can nation-states promote internationalism through foreign policy?

Countries can use foreign policy strategies to promote internationalism in many ways. These may include peacekeeping, international law and agreements, and foreign aid.

The photo essay on this page shows examples of three key foreign policy strategies that countries can use to promote internationalism. For each example of international co-operation pictured, identify the foreign policy decisions that would have been required to make it possible.

Picturing How Foreign Policy Can Promote Internationalism

International Law and Agreements

Figure 10-5 The cruise ship *Explorer* was owned by the Canadian tour company G.A.P Adventures. In November 2007, it hit ice off Antarctica and sank. The Norwegian tourist ship *Nordnorge* was nearby and responded to the *Explorer's* distress call. It rescued all 154 passengers, including eight Canadians. The *Nordnorge* was obeying the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. This law requires all ships to try to rescue anyone in distress on the high seas. Every nation-state is responsible for ensuring that its ships obey this law.

Peacekeeping

Figure 10-6 American and Russian ground troops take part in a joint military training exercise in Hohenfels, Germany, in 2007. The goal was to practise working together in preparation for UN peacekeeping operations.

Foreign Aid

Figure 10-7 Josette Sheeran, centre, is the executive director of the World Food Programme. She spoke with Iraqi refugees in Damascus, Syria, in 2007. The WFP distributes food to refugees on behalf of all member states in the United Nations.

FYI

When Turkey applied to join the European Union, the EU set some conditions. EU members demanded, for example, that Turkey abolish the death penalty and introduce tougher laws against torture. Because Turkey wants the benefits of EU membership, it agreed to these demands.

Promoting Peace

Using foreign policy to build world peace is a powerful strategy for promoting internationalism. Two major foreign policy tools that nation-states use to achieve this goal are

- incentives — offering closer international relations, provided certain conditions are met
- sanctions — cutting off relations, such as trade, with a state until hostile behaviour stops

Incentives

Peace and economic stability often go hand in hand. Countries such as Canada may offer aid, loans, and a trading relationship with nation-states they choose to help. When countries that receive help become economically successful and self-supporting, the world becomes safer for everyone.

When unstable or hostile nation-states are offered trade opportunities — which could bring prosperity — they can be tempted to stop behaviour that the world community frowns on. Human rights abuses, such as forced labour and imprisoning political opponents, are examples of this behaviour.

Figure 10-8 An Iraqi child is vaccinated for polio in 2000. Few Iraqi children got polio before the UN imposed sanctions. But medical supplies, including polio vaccine, were on a list of goods that countries were not supposed to trade with Iraq. As a result, polio re-emerged as a serious childhood illness. Who was responsible for this — Saddam Hussein or the countries that supported sanctions?

Sanctions

Countries often try to promote peace in other countries by imposing economic sanctions. Economic sanctions involve cutting off trade and other economic ties with a country as a way of forcing it to follow a particular course of action. Forcing the country to endure economic hardship is seen as preferable to harsher measures, such as military action or declaring war.

But economic sanctions are controversial. They may not work if all countries do not stop trade. Critics also say that sanctions often hurt a country's citizens far more than they hurt its government.

In 1990, for example, the United Nations imposed economic sanctions on Iraq. At the time, Iraq was ruled by the dictator Saddam Hussein. The UN wanted to force Saddam to co-operate and stop abusing Iraqis' human rights and threatening the country's neighbours.

Read the following views. Each gives an opinion on the impact of economic sanctions used against Iraq. Canada participated in these sanctions. Were sanctions the right foreign policy tool to use?

Yes — Sanctions Help Build Peace	No — Sanctions Are Inhumane
Canada has been participating in the enforcement of UN sanctions against Iraq for 10 years, and our contribution is viewed as crucial by our allies. This operation will . . . reaffirm our commitment to peace and stability in this region. – Art Eggleton, Canada's defence minister, 2000	The combined effects of the "Gulf War" and the international [ban on trade] have killed 1.5 million men, women, and children in Iraq in the last 12 years. Among the victims are 750 000 children under five years old, according to UNICEF. – Canadian Network to End Sanctions in Iraq, 2003

Peacekeeping and Internationalism

After World War II, members of the newly created United Nations decided that they needed an effective way to maintain international peace and security. To do this, they formed the Security Council, a subgroup of UN members with the authority to investigate and monitor potential crises. The council would use various strategies to negotiate solutions. It could, for example, order sanctions or, as a last resort, ask some members to launch military action.

Peacekeeping is the Security Council's key military strategy. The council consults with countries in need of peacekeepers and authorizes all UN peacekeeping missions. All UN members must make some armed forces available for peacekeeping missions, but every country has the right to decide which missions it will join. In this way, the UN peacekeeping process is an internationalist effort to meet the challenge of bringing peace to troubled parts of the world.

Since 1956, more than 125 000 Canadians have taken part in about 50 peacekeeping missions. How do you think this has helped shape Canada's national identity, values, and foreign policy?

Being a Peacekeeper

Peacekeepers are not peacemakers. Peacekeepers are sent to conflict zones only after a ceasefire has been negotiated. In a ceasefire, all sides agree to stop fighting for a specified time. Peacekeepers then set up and patrol a buffer zone — an area where no fighting occurs — to keep warring groups apart while a lasting peace is negotiated. Peacekeepers also protect humanitarian workers who are providing food, shelter, and medical aid. UN peacekeepers may sometimes provide security, but they are allowed to use force only in self-defence.

Troops taking part in peacekeeping missions must follow these guidelines:

- Consent — Peacekeepers must respect the sovereignty of the host country.
- Impartiality — Peacekeepers must not take sides.
- Self-defence — Peacekeepers may use force only to defend themselves.

Do you think that limiting the amount of force peacekeepers can use means that warring groups are less likely to obey international agreements? Do you agree with this rule? Why or why not?

<<< CheckBack

Canada's role in developing peacekeeping was explored in Chapter 6.

FYI

The United Nations Security Council has five permanent members: China, France, Russia, Britain, and the United States. These were the major world powers after World War II. The council also has 10 members who are elected for two-year terms.

Should the United Nations have its own permanent army to use for peacekeeping and peacemaking?

Figure 10-9 A Canadian Cougar armoured personnel carrier returns to base outside Visoko in Bosnia and Herzegovina in March 1994. The peacekeepers had been on a mission to collect military information. Why do you think the use of armoured vehicles is increasing in peacekeeping missions?

<<< CheckBack

You read about the conflict in Yugoslavia and Rwanda in Chapter 7.

I could tell [the peacekeepers] to do things, but they would check with their country. The troops are under my operational command, but they remained under the ultimate command of their nations, so . . . if a national capital feels that a [rescue] mission is unwarranted, or too risky, or something, the soldiers can turn around and say, "No, I can't do it."

— General Roméo Dallaire, commander of UN forces in Rwanda, 1994

Figure 10-10 Major-General Roméo Dallaire at Kigali airport just before leaving Rwanda in August 1994. Dallaire was ordered not to interfere in the conflict, even when innocent men, women, and children were being slaughtered. Should UN peacekeepers be released from the rules of peacekeeping in situations like this?

Questioning the Role of Peacekeeping

Most peacekeeping missions have been successful. The peace holds, and a diplomatic solution is found. But problems sometimes emerge.

- Warring sides may start fighting again, catching peacekeepers in the middle.
- Warring sides sometimes attack peacekeepers.
- Diplomats may not be able to find a solution, so peacekeepers end up staying indefinitely (e.g., peacekeepers have been in Cyprus since 1964).
- Warring sides sometimes start killing civilians. When this happens, peacekeepers are not allowed to act.

In the 1990s, several peacekeeping failures caused some people to question the effectiveness of peacekeeping as a foreign policy tool. In Yugoslavia, for example, peacekeepers were unable to stop the killing of civilians. A similar situation occurred in Rwanda.

As a result, many people came to believe that peacemaking is more effective than peacekeeping. The goal of peacemaking is to end armed conflict and human rights abuses. Peacemakers are not limited in the same way as peacekeepers. They are not required to remain neutral, they may shoot to kill, and they may enter a country even if they have not been invited.

Failure of Peacekeeping in Rwanda

In 1993, a peace agreement was negotiated between Rwanda's Hutu-controlled government and Tutsi rebels — so the UN sent 2600 troops from several UN member countries to ensure that peace was kept. The UN force included 400 Canadians and was commanded by Canadian general Roméo Dallaire.

But in 1994, violence erupted again. Extremist Hutus started murdering Tutsis and moderate Hutus who opposed violence.

Dallaire had warned UN officials that a genocide was about to happen. He had asked for more troops and for permission to seize Hutu weapons. But Dallaire's warnings were ignored and his requests were denied. Although the peacekeepers did what they could, they could not stop the slaughter.

Over a 100-day period, more than 800 000 Rwandans, mostly Tutsis, were killed. Ten Belgian peacekeepers were also tortured and killed. Because Dallaire's warnings had been ignored, there were not enough UN troops, and peacekeepers were ordered to stay out of the conflict.

➲ Read Dallaire's words in "Voices" and think about what happened in Rwanda. In a small group, discuss Dallaire's statement. Brainstorm to create a list of ways you would change the role of peacekeepers to make them more effective. Meet with another group and compare your suggestions.

International Law and Agreements

The foreign policies of various countries can sometimes conflict. To help resolve the disputes that arise when this happens, a large body of international law and agreements has been developed. Some of these international laws stem from trade agreements between two or more countries, and some are based in international treaties and United Nations resolutions. Others are based on UN conventions, or agreements (e.g., the Convention on the Law of the Sea), or on widely accepted international practices.

The UN's International Court of Justice, which is often called the World Court, interprets these laws and tries to settle disputes peacefully. But some countries, such as the United States, refuse to recognize this court. These countries do not want to give up their right to make their own decisions based on their own national interest.

Web Connection

To find out more about Canada's position on the Law of the Sea, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

The International Law of the Sea

The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea sets out rules for the high seas — the parts of oceans that lie beyond the territorial waters of any country. All waters within 22 kilometres of a country's coastline are part of that country's territory. Countries also have the sole right to control fishing, mining, and the environment in an area up to 370 kilometres from their coast.

The Law of the Sea applies to the fishery on the Grand Banks, off Canada's East Coast. At one time, this area was the world's richest fishing grounds. But technological advances have led to overfishing, often by large European factory ships. Overfishing has greatly reduced fish stocks. This has caused widespread unemployment, especially in Newfoundland.

To revive the fishing industry and allow fish stocks to recover, Canada believes that it must regulate fishing on the entire Grand Banks. Canada's case for extending its control of the Grand Banks is still being considered.

Examine the photograph in Figure 10-12 and read the caption. Then locate the Nose of the Bank on the map in Figure 10-11. With a partner, develop one argument to justify Canada's seizure of the *Estai*. Then develop a counter-argument that the Spanish government might have used.

Figure 10-11 Grand Banks

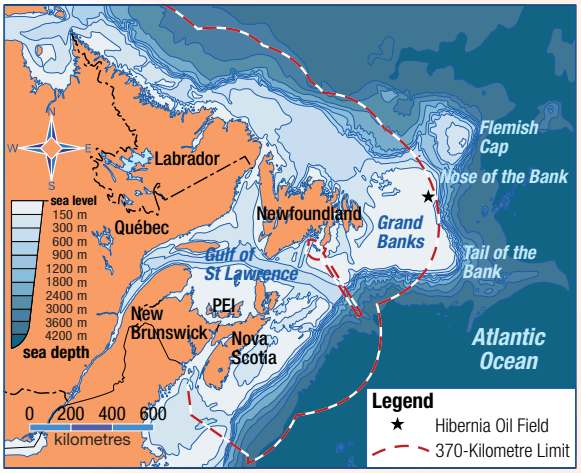


Figure 10-12 Two officers from the Canadian Department of Fisheries and Oceans show the nets used by the *Estai*, a Spanish fishing trawler. In 1995, Canada created an international uproar by seizing this trawler on the Nose of the Bank — in international waters. The small mesh in this net is illegal because it traps young turbot. Catching these young fish endangers fish stocks.

International Agreements and Antarctica

Antarctica is unique. Unlike other continents, it has no history of human habitation. The environment is so harsh that no communities have ever developed there. Even today, only about a thousand people live in the Antarctic. And even these residents are there temporarily to maintain research stations.

In 1959, the seven countries that claimed various parts of Antarctica agreed to place their claims on hold. Instead, they joined five other countries active in the region in signing a treaty making the Antarctic an international continent. Any UN member may join the Antarctic Treaty.

Over the years, this treaty has been revised. By 2008, the 46 countries that had signed it had agreed to the following terms:

- All people are free to travel anywhere on the continent.
- The region is reserved for peaceful purposes and scientific study.
- Mining, nuclear explosions, and disposal of radioactive waste are banned.
- Results of scientific research in the Antarctic must be shared.
- All Antarctic wildlife is protected.

How is the Antarctic Treaty an example of internationalism that serves the national interest of many countries?

Figure 10-13 The flags of the 12 countries that signed the original Antarctic Treaty in 1959 fly at McMurdo Research Station in Antarctica. New Zealand contributes to the maintenance of this American research station in return for use of its airfields and ship wharf. The station is on land that New Zealand claims, although this claim — like all others for Antarctica — is on hold as long as the treaty continues. How do the research station and this photograph show the spirit of internationalism?

<<< CheckBack

You read about the debate over Arctic sovereignty in Chapter 5.

International Agreements and the Arctic

According to the Law of the Sea, the area around the North Pole is in international waters. It is located beyond the 370-kilometre limit of Russia, Canada, Denmark, Norway, and the United States, the five countries with Arctic claims. The Law of the Sea allows these countries to file claims to extend their territory into this international zone — if they can prove that the Arctic seabed is linked to their land mass.

The Lomonosov Ridge is an undersea mountain range that runs 1500 kilometres past the North Pole. Russia is now collecting evidence to prove that this ridge is an extension of its continental shelf.

Countries that disagree with this claim must complete their own research and submit their own evidence before a 2013 deadline. What chance do you think Canada would have had against the Russian claims if an international settlement process were not in place?

Compare the statements in "Voices" on this page. Which statement demonstrates nationalism? Which statement demonstrates internationalism? Which statement do you think demonstrates an approach that would be more effective in settling disputes in the Arctic?

It is in the interest of all mankind that Antarctica shall continue forever to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and shall not become the scene or object of international [tensions].

— United Nations Treaty on the Antarctic, 1959

The Arctic is Russian. We must prove the North Pole is an extension of the Russian coastal shelf.

— Artur Chilingarov, Arctic explorer and leader of an expedition to plant a Russian flag under the North Pole, 2007

Foreign Aid and Internationalism

Countries also promote internationalism by delivering foreign aid. Every year, developed countries give billions of dollars to developing countries for humanitarian and other purposes. This money provides medical supplies, food, clothing, building supplies, and expertise.

The 0.7 Per Cent Solution

In 1969, former Canadian prime minister Lester B. Pearson wanted to find another way to build a peaceful world. So Pearson issued a challenge to the world's richest countries. He suggested that countries spend 0.7 per cent of their **gross national income** on foreign aid. GNI refers to the total value of the goods and services produced by a country in a year, both inside and outside a country's borders.

At the time, UN members committed to this goal, and they reaffirmed this commitment in 2002. But in 2006, Canada gave only 0.33 per cent of its GNI as foreign aid — about half the targeted amount.

Not everyone agrees that Canada should spend more. Many foreign policy experts believe that efforts should focus on delivering aid more effectively. Josée Verner, Canada's minister of international co-operation, agrees with this view.

Read Jeffrey Sachs's statement in "Voices." What do you think he might say about Canada's responsibility to promote internationalism? Do you think he would agree with Canada's proposal to deliver foreign aid more effectively, rather than spend more money?

An Internationalist Approach

By co-ordinating their work, foreign aid donors can ensure that they provide effective help. International organizations such as the Red Cross often help with this co-ordination. The Red Cross and similar organizations have workers "on the ground." These workers are involved with communities and know where and what kind of aid is needed most. In many people's view, the foreign aid projects that achieve the best results are those that work closely with communities.

Read the statement by the Canadian organization Inter Pares in "Voices." "Inter pares" means "among equals." How does the name of this organization show their belief about the way foreign aid should be delivered? Why do you think community-based solutions can be both more difficult to achieve and more effective? How do these solutions reflect an internationalist approach? Do you support this approach? Why or why not?

VOICES

Canada should have been number 1 [to meet Lester Pearson's foreign aid challenge]. It is the home of 0.7.

— Jeffrey Sachs, director of the United Nations Millennium Project, 2005

FYI

By 2006, only Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden had met or exceeded Lester Pearson's suggested target of contributing 0.7 per cent of GNI to foreign aid. The foreign aid spending of most developed countries, including Canada, is well below this mark.

VOICES

People are the agents of development and change. People develop themselves, their societies, and their nations. This is the essence of democracy, and democracy is the heart and engine of authentic development.

— Inter Pares, a Canadian international organization that specializes in community-based development

Figure 10-14 The Canadian Forces maintains a special Disaster Assistance Response Team. DART members are trained to respond quickly when a disaster occurs anywhere in the world. The badge on this DART member's arm says "Humanitas" — Latin for "humanity." How is this badge a symbol of internationalism?

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Jenna Hoyt
The Power of One

Figure 10-15 Jenna Hoyt joins staff and students of a Little Voice School. Hoyt plans to live permanently in Africa after she graduates with a nursing degree in 2008.

In 2003, Jenna Hoyt was a nursing student in Ottawa. Hoyt visited Ethiopia and was shocked by the misery she saw. "For a while, I thought this couldn't actually be a place on Earth where people suffer like this," she told the *Ottawa Citizen*.

Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in Africa. Incomes are low, infectious disease rates are high, and about two-thirds of people are illiterate. UNICEF estimates that as many as 150 000 children work and live on the streets of Addis Ababa, the country's capital. As a result, Ethiopia — like Zimbabwe — ranks high on the Failed States Index.

Hoyt felt helpless — until a friend told her the following fable about a starfish:

> One day, a young man was picking stranded starfish off a beach and gently throwing them back into the ocean. An elderly man asked the young man what he was doing. The young man said that the tide was going out and the starfish would die if he did not throw them back into the ocean.
>
> The elderly man laughed and pointed out that thousands of starfish were stranded on miles of beach. He said that the young man could not possibly make a difference.
>
> The young man responded by bending down, picking up another starfish, and tossing it into the ocean. He said, "Made a difference to that one."

Hoyt says that this story changed her thinking. She could not solve all Ethiopia's problems — but she could make a difference in the lives of a few. So Hoyt returned to Canada and created the Little Voice Foundation. The mission of Little Voice is to support communities in developing countries.

In Ethiopia, most schools charge fees of about $6.70 a month. But many families are very poor and cannot pay this fee. As a result, more than one-third of Ethiopian children do not go to school.

In 2007, the Little Voice Foundation raised enough money to fund two schools in Addis Ababa. These schools offer free schooling to about 200 students. Little Voice has also opened a home for about 30 street children.

Hoyt works closely with Ethiopians, who run the schools and the home. Hoyt says that all Little Voice programs are run by "people from the community for the benefit of community." She believes strongly that one person — one little voice — can make a difference in the world.

EXPLORATIONS

1. In a short paragraph, explain what Jenna Hoyt and the Little Voices Foundation have accomplished.
2. Up to 150 000 children live on the streets of Addis Ababa. How could the accomplishments of Little Voices be described as a success? How could they be described as a failure?
3. What is the point of the story of the starfish? Do you agree or disagree with the point of this story? Internationalism is sometimes described as nations co-operating to solve world problems. How is the story of the starfish connected to internationalism?

Criticism of Foreign Aid Policy

Humanitarianism is often the main motive for providing aid to other countries. But over the years, the foreign aid strategies of developed countries have often been criticized.

- Competing motives — Countries may provide aid to prop up a weak government, to protect economic investments, or to help a wartime ally. This can mean that needier regions are neglected.
- **Tied aid** — When aid is tied, strings are attached. Donor countries may, for example, require the country receiving the aid to buy goods and services only from the donor country. At one time, Canada required countries that received Canadian food aid to buy 90 per cent of their food from Canada. This meant that countries receiving the aid were unable to buy locally grown food, which might have been cheaper and would have supported local farmers. In this way, tied aid can limit trade and development in the countries that need these things the most.
- Lack of consultation — Some donor countries provide aid in a form that is not appropriate to the culture of the country receiving the aid.
- Complex delivery systems — Some countries can be overwhelmed by the number of agencies they must deal with to get aid. The government of Ghana, for example, must deal with dozens of international organizations, 15 major donor countries, and many UN agencies — all with different priorities and requirements.
- Bureaucracy — Before aid actually gets to the people who need it, it must flow through several layers of government, in both the countries giving and receiving the aid. This not only slows the flow of aid, but also means more of it is spent on administration.
- Corruption — Corrupt officials in the receiving countries sometimes seize aid money and supplies instead of distributing them to needy citizens.
- Brain drain — The best and brightest in countries receiving aid may end up working for aid agencies instead of starting their own businesses or doing other things to promote the long-term security and prosperity of their country.

Figure 10-16 A young man rides a bicycle toward homes in Gingthota, Sri Lanka. Foreign aid helped build these homes after the 2004 tsunami. But by 2008, less than 20 per cent of the money pledged to help Sri Lankan tsunami victims had been spent for this purpose. How could donor countries and tsunami victims who are still homeless work together to fix this situation?

In 2008, Canada "untied" all its food aid to other countries. Was this move wise or foolish?

Comparing Foreign Policy Strategies			
Strategy	Example	Benefits to a country's national interest	How it promotes internationalism
Peacekeeping			
International Law and Agreements			
Foreign Aid			

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. Peacekeeping, international law and agreements, and foreign aid are three key foreign policy strategies described in this section.

   Create a graphic organizer like the one shown to compare the three strategies.

2. Which foreign policy strategy do you think most effectively promotes internationalism while also serving national interests? Explain your judgment.

THE VIEW FROM HERE

People have a variety of opinions about foreign aid as a tool for promoting internationalism. Does it benefit people? Is the current system effective? If not, what are the problems and how can they be fixed? Here are some opinions about foreign aid.

Jeffrey Sachs is an American economist and director of the Earth Institute at Columbia University. He was also director of the UN's Millennium Project. In 2007, Sachs said that the poverty trap can be overcome only if developed countries keep their promises.

> The situation is absurd in many ways — at least 10 million people dying each year because the rich world refuses to spend 0.7 percent of GNP [GNI] on aid! For Africa specifically, we would need around $70 billion per year to enable Africa to get on to the ladder of development. That's $70 per person per year from each of us in the rich countries. It's about 0.2 per cent of our annual income. It's well under the annual cost of the Iraq War. Indeed, it's about 2 per cent of the estimated wealth of the world's 1000 billionaires.

Kimberly Bowman is with Engineers Without Borders. This Canadian organization works to provide technology that will drive change in communities struggling with poverty. In 2008, Bowman argued against tied aid, which EWB claims commits half of Canada's aid dollars to Canadian consultants and administration.

> We talk to thousands of Canadians who tell us that they care about development in Africa. Yet most don't know that Canadian aid often ends up right back in the pockets of Canadian corporations, rather than where it is needed most. We hope [awareness-raising] will influence government policies towards ending tied aid.

Walter Williams is an American economist and columnist. In 2005, he argued that government-to-government foreign aid has serious flaws.

> The worst thing that can be done is to give more foreign aid to African nations. Foreign aid goes from government to government. Foreign aid allows Africa's corrupt regimes to buy military equipment, pay off cronies [friends] and continue to oppress their people.

EXPLORATIONS

1. Identify the concerns expressed by each speaker or writer.
2. Use the words of the speakers and writers to help decide which of the following statements you agree with most. Choose one of the statements or create another opinion about the topic and explain your reasoning.
   - Foreign aid effectively promotes internationalism.
   - Foreign aid does not promote internationalism because the system is broken.
   - Foreign aid would promote internationalism more effectively if developed countries contributed enough money to end the cycle of poverty.
3. Should the Canadian government use foreign aid as a foreign policy tool? Explain your judgment.

How does Canadian foreign policy promote both national interest and internationalism?

As long as the interests of Canadian citizens are looked after, does it matter what happens in the rest of the world?

Like other countries, Canada tries to promote both its national interest and internationalism. Consider, for example, trade agreements between countries. Trade agreements are a form of internationalism — trading partners co-operate to increase trade. Increased trade creates a stronger economy, which is in the national interest.

Foreign aid is another tool that Canada uses to promote internationalism. Foreign aid involves many countries in co-operating to help those who are less fortunate. This form of internationalism serves Canadian national interest and reflects Canadian values because it creates a safer and more secure and more prosperous world.

Figure 10-18 sets out Canada's foreign policy goals for 2007–2008. Think of an example for each goal listed on the chart. How does each example serve Canada's national interest and promote internationalism? If you could add another priority to this list, what would it be?

Different circumstances require different approaches when dealing with the world. In some cases, Canada takes a nationalist approach to defend its interests. This may involve, for example, defending its borders or being tough when negotiating a treaty. In other cases, Canada takes an internationalist approach to serve its interests. This may involve, for example, supporting Interpol, the international police organization that fights crime on a worldwide scale.

Developing foreign policy can be a difficult process of deciding which aspects of the national interest to serve. An international environmental agreement, for example, may serve Canada's national interest in creating a cleaner world environment. But if the agreement drastically curbs a domestic industry, such as the oil and gas industry, then Canada's national interest in promoting a healthy economy might not be served.

Figure 10-17 Cyclists paused for a break by the Ottawa River on a smoggy day in the summer of 2005. Smog is a mixture of smoke, chemical fumes, and particles. It is created by industry, as well as by cars and trucks — and also contributes to global climate change. How could a foreign policy on the environment promote internationalism and also serve the national interest?

Figure 10-18 Canada's Continuing Foreign Affairs and International Trade Priorities, 2007–2008

1. A safer, more secure and prosperous Canada within a strengthened North American partnership.
2. Greater economic competitiveness for Canada through enhanced commercial engagement, secure market access and targeted support for Canadian business.
3. Greater international support for freedom and security, democracy, rule of law, human rights and [the environment].
4. Accountable and consistent use of [international relations] to deliver results on global issues of concern to Canadians.
5. Strengthened services to Canadians [travelling and overseas]
6. [More effective use of Canadian resources] in support of international policy objectives and program delivery both at home and abroad.

IMPACT

Canada and Peacekeeping — Myth and Reality

Schoolchildren across Canada are taught that Canada is a nation of peacekeepers. International public opinion polls show that people in many other countries view Canada this way, as well. Many people would say this is a national myth — part of the national identity of Canada. The question is: How accurate is the myth?

Figure 10-19 Melissa Muise (front) and 15 other students from a Waverley, Nova Scotia, elementary school wear blue, UN-style peacekeeping berets and flash peace signs at the camera. These children were chosen by their classmates to be peer mediators — students who will settle disputes peacefully in their school. Do you think an exercise like this encourages students to support a national myth that Canada is a peacekeeping nation? Does believing a national myth make it true?

Figure 10-20 Canada's Peacekeeping Record

Number of Canadians who served on peacekeeping missions, 1956–2006	125 000
Number of Canadian peacekeepers killed	108
Canada's largest peacekeeping mission	Croatia and Bosnia in the 1990s — 1600 troops and police
Number of Canadians serving as peacekeepers worldwide in 2006	100
Rank of Canada out of 108 countries contributing to UN peacekeeping missions	55

Source: UN Peacekeeping Project, United Nations Association in Canada

Canada's Peacekeeping Trends

From 1956 to 1990, Canadians participated in every UN peacekeeping mission. It was a matter of pride in a Canadian tradition of and commitment to internationalism. But in the 1990s, things began to change. Canada sent fewer soldiers on peacekeeping missions. As part of NATO, however, it did take part in the UN-authorized mission to the former Yugoslavia. This was like other UN peacekeeping missions. But it was bigger and more dangerous because the fighting had not yet stopped.

Canadian Peacekeepers in the Former Yugoslavia

As the Cold War was ending in 1991, the Slovenian, Croatian, and Bosnian minorities in Yugoslavia all demanded independence. The Serbians, the largest ethnic group, opposed these independence movements. Fierce fighting erupted as ethnic and religious groups turned on one another.

The United Nations Security Council negotiated several ceasefires so that peacekeeping forces could be sent to the region. But even after Canadian peacekeepers arrived, the fighting continued. There was no peace to keep. Instead, the peacekeepers tried to create peaceful conditions by, for example, providing armed protection of civilians. But this was a nearly impossible task. The peacekeepers were helpless to stop the ethnic cleansing — the killing and terrorizing of civilians intended to drive away whole ethnic populations.

In September 1993, about 875 members of the 2nd Battalion of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry were ordered to an area of Croatia known as the Medak Pocket. The PPCLI's mission was to protect Serbian villages against attack by Croatian troops.

When the Croats opened fire with machine guns and heavy artillery, the Canadians were forced to defend themselves. The PPCLIs pushed the Croats out of the area — and the Canadians earned a rare award from the UN.

The Peacekeeping Myth

The events at the Medak Pocket helped spark a debate in Canada and the world. Many people questioned the effectiveness of peacekeeping — and whether peacekeeping should be replaced by peacemaking.

Retired Canadian major-general Lewis MacKenzie, for example, had commanded UN peacekeepers in Bosnia. In 2006, MacKenzie told a forum on the future of peacekeeping that many Canadians have a false impression of peacekeeping. He said, "The idea of peacekeeping as being helping old ladies across the street in Bangladesh is false."

Political columnist Jim Travers disagreed. Travers told the same forum: "Peacekeeping ranks up there with hockey . . . It is important in [Canadians'] self-definition. Where peacekeeping wobbled off the track and remains off the track is that peacemaking is an aggressive and smug export of Canadian values." To get peacekeeping back on track, Travers said, "We need to make a difference, not just a cheap political statement, make a genuine effort to help."

Major Corporal Mark Isfeld, a Canadian soldier serving in the former Yugoslavia, wrote these words to a family friend in 1992:

> In Croatia, where no one trusts soldiers of any sort, they see us as some sort of trouble, but I will keep on doing my duty of protecting nations that wish for peace. I will risk my life daily using the special skills I have been given by my country to help keep civilians and UN soldiers safe in travel and daily function.

Two years later, Mark Isfeld was killed while trying to disarm landmines.

Figure 10-21 RCMP officers carry the coffin of former RCMP officer Mark Bourque in Québec City in December 2005. Bourque had volunteered for a UN peacekeeping mission in Haiti. He was killed in an ambush in a conflict zone. Is traditional peacekeeping the right approach when the parties involved are not ready for peace?

EXPLORATIONS

1. With a small group, examine the following foreign policy options for Canada:
   - Peacekeeping has become too dangerous, so Canada should change its foreign policy to isolationism.
   - Peacekeeping was meant to help people who really want peace, so Canada should return to its traditional peacekeeping role.
   - Canada has a responsibility to help people fight terrorism and cruel regimes, even if it costs Canadian lives. Canada should continue to support peacemaking.

   Decide

   a) which option would promote internationalism most effectively

   b) which option would reflect the Canadian national identity most effectively

   c) which option (or another one) you would recommend Canada follow — and why
2. Is Canada a nation of both peacekeepers and peacemakers? If so, is peacekeeping a myth? If it is a myth, should Canadians try to live up to this myth, or should they abandon it? Explain your responses.

Landmines and Foreign Policy

The international agreement to ban landmines is an example of Canada's serving its national interest by promoting internationalism. Landmines are bombs buried in the ground. They are set to explode when someone steps on them or when a vehicle drives over them. Troops involved in conflicts plant these bombs to protect their bases, as well as on public roads and in fields. They are a cheap and effective weapon in guerrilla warfare.

Unless they are removed, landmines pose a huge problem long after a conflict is over. Because they are hidden, civilians step on them while working their fields or walking to and from their homes. Children step on landmines as they walk to school, help with family chores, or play.

Over the years, the UN has tried various ways to ban the production and use of landmines. All efforts failed until 1992, when an American activist, Jody Williams, organized the International Campaign to Ban Landmines. This campaign was supported by more than 1400 non-governmental organizations in 90 countries.

Examine the map in Figure 10-22. Does it show any landmines in Canada? How is it in Canada's national interest to promote an international ban on landmines?

FYI

Landmines by the Numbers

People killed by landmines every day — 72

Victims who are civilians — 90%

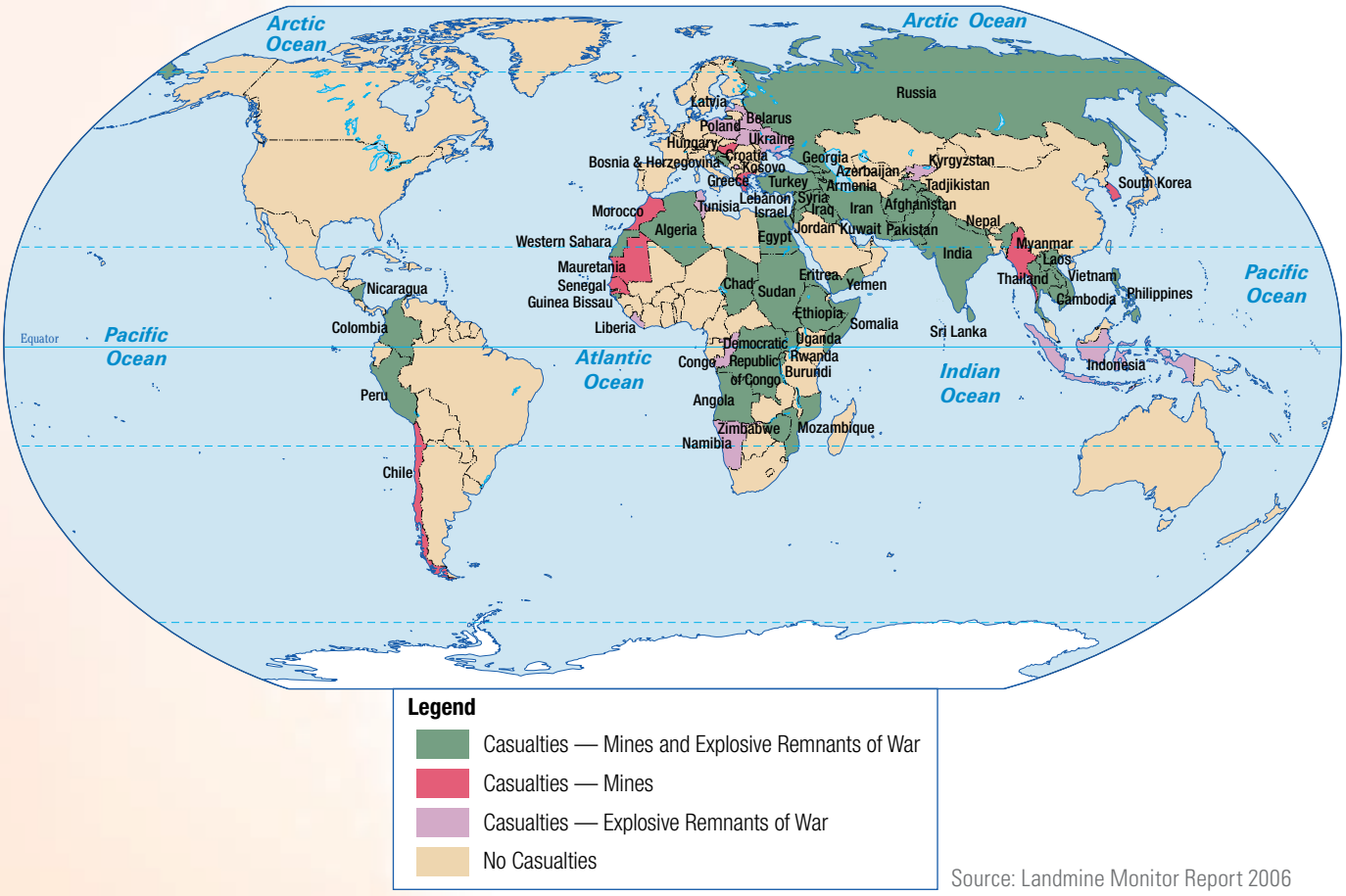
Victims who are children — 40%

Cost to make a landmine — $3

Cost to remove a landmine — $1000

Landmines still in place around the world — 45 million

Figure 10-22 Landmines in the World, 2006



Source: Landmine Monitor Report 2006

The Ottawa Treaty

In 1997, Canadian foreign affairs minister Lloyd Axworthy listened to Jody Williams and was inspired to take action. He and Williams organized an international meeting in Ottawa. There, 121 countries signed the Ottawa Convention, a treaty to ban the use of landmines and remove existing mines. By mid-2007, 157 countries had signed, and the manufacture of and trade in landmines had shrunk substantially. Jody Williams won the Nobel Peace Prize for her work on the treaty.

Despite widespread support for the Ottawa Treaty, landmines are still being used. The Taliban, for example, continue to plant them in Afghanistan. Landmines have killed or wounded dozens of Canadian soldiers and thousands of Afghani citizens.

➔ How does Canada's leadership on the issue of landmines show its commitment to internationalism?

VOICES

Not only did [the Ottawa Treaty] have a direct result saving lives, it also provided an alternative way to managing international affairs compared to the flex-your-muscles, might-makes-right, policy-at-the-end-of-a-gun [way of doing things].

— Lloyd Axworthy, former Canadian minister of foreign affairs, 2007

Taking Turns

In a globalizing world, should national interest be the focus of foreign policy?

The students responding to this question are Harley, a member of the Kainai Nation near Lethbridge; Jane, who lives in Calgary and is descended from black Loyalists who fled to Nova Scotia after the American Revolution; and Amanthi, who lives in Edson and whose parents immigrated from Sri Lanka.

Harley

We have to look beyond ourselves and our own community. After September 11, 2001, we knew that our safety could be threatened by people on the other side of the world. So Canada's foreign policy should take international security seriously. We live in a global village, after all, and people on other continents are also part of our community.

It's naive to tie ourselves to some vague ideal of internationalism. Canadians already know what's in Canada's national interest: look out for ourselves. Then Canada can stay a safe haven for people who need it — and in the end, this will be good for the world. Too many other countries are run by dictators or have values that are different from ours. Let them fight with one another while we take care of own best interests.

Jane

Amanthi

I think that international solutions to our biggest problems work. The landmine treaty alone shows that. Just think what we could do about the environment, human rights, and poverty! And what happens in other countries eventually affects Canada. So internationalism is definitely in Canada's national interest and should be part of our foreign policy.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Harley, Jane, and Amanthi are answering? Would other views that they did not mention influence your response?

THINK...PARTICIPATE...RESEARCH...COMMUNICATE...

1. In this chapter, you explored this issue: Should foreign policy promote internationalism?

   With a partner, analyze the issue by dividing the question into the following four parts and examining the meaning of each part:

   a) *Should*

   - What is the difference between asking if something *can* be done and asking if it *should* be done?

   b) *foreign policy*

   - What is your understanding of foreign policy?
   - What goals should foreign policy promote?
   - What role should Canada's national interest play in developing foreign policy?

   c) *promote*

   - What is your understanding of the verb "promote"?
   - What other verbs might have been used in place of "promote"? Why do you suppose "promote" was chosen?

   d) *internationalism*

   - What is your understanding of internationalism?
   - What are some positive and negative effects of internationalism on Canada?
   - What are some positive and negative effects of internationalism on the world?
   - Should foreign policy be used to promote internationalism?

2. With your partner, create an interview between a news reporter and a Canadian foreign policy expert. Your answers to Question 1 may help you develop interview questions and answers. You may present your interview in written form, as an audio or video recording, or as an oral presentation.

3. The graph in Figure 10-23 shows the Canadian government's contributions to foreign aid in selected years.

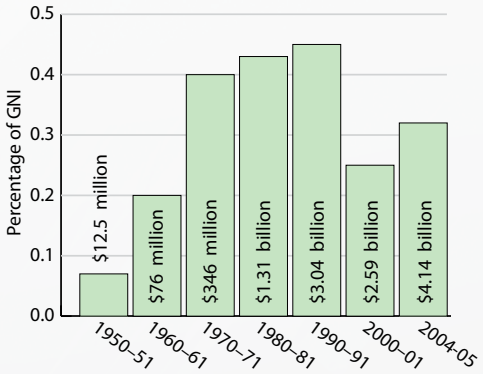
   a) What trend is revealed by the change in total amount donated over the years?

   b) What trend is revealed by the change in percentage of GNI donated over the years?

   c) What do the trends you identified in a) and b) tell you about Canada's commitment to foreign aid?

   d) Should this commitment change? If so, how and why? If not, why not?

Figure 10-23 Percentage of Canada's GNI Dedicated to Government Foreign Aid, 1950–2005



4. The following proverb is often attributed to the ancient Chinese philosopher Laozi.

   > Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day. Teach him how to fish and you feed him for a lifetime.

   a) Does this proverb apply better to emergency aid or to long-term development aid? Explain your answer.

   b) Canada sends aid in the form of goods, such as wheat and building supplies. It also sends services, such as expert advice and training programs. If Canada's goal is to promote internationalism, which kind of aid should the government focus on?

Skill Builder to Your Challenge

Create Headlines

Your challenge for Related Issue 3 is to create a time capsule that will be opened in 100 years. Your time capsule will include items that explore and present an informed position on the question for this related issue: Should internationalism be pursued?

In this activity, you will write three headlines that show the extent to which Canadian foreign policy promotes internationalism. Headlines used by the media often provide a snapshot of events and issues that were important to people during a period of history. As you create your headlines, you will practise your skill at identifying cause-and-effect relationships.

Step 1: Develop criteria

Identify several criteria that you can use to help decide whether a particular Canadian foreign policy promotes internationalism.

First, write out each criterion (e.g., Policy encourages consensus building among countries). Then transform each criterion into a question (e.g., Does this policy encourage consensus building among countries?)

Step 2: Identify causes and effects

Match three or more foreign policy decisions with either causes that led to the decisions or effects that resulted from the decisions. The following is an example:

Cause
Canada recognized the need to reduce the number of landmines in the world

Foreign Policy Decision
In 2003, Canada hosted an international meeting to discuss reducing the use of landmines

Effect
By mid-2007, Canada and 156 other countries had signed the Ottawa Treaty to ban landmines.

Step 3: Test against your criteria

Test your identified foreign policy decisions against your criteria. Select the three decisions that you feel most strongly promoted internationalism.

Step 4: Write your headlines

For each foreign policy decision, write a two-line headline that shows how the decision was caused by, or resulted in, the promotion of internationalism. Here is an example.

Canada leads the way in banning landmines
Ottawa meeting results in international treaty
Essi. Agnit venim vulput exer senim nisi blandre magnis nonsequat. Duisim velTating et aute feugue ex eliquat nonse modiam, commolo rerat. Mincil il ilit

In the next two chapters of this related issue, you will complete two more skill builders. These will guide you through the steps needed to complete the challenge for this related issue successfully.